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Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: NATO DECLARATION

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1. FURTHER TO REFTEL, THERE FOLLOW FULL REVISED VERSIONS OF PARAS 3, 4, 5 AND 6 OF FRENCH TEXT OF DRAFT NATO DECLARATION, TOGETHER WITH GUIDANCE FOR TACTICAL HANDLING OF REVISIONS. REVISIONS OF PARAS 3 AND 6 CONTAIN KEY PROPOSED CHANGES, DERIVING FROM CONCERNS ABOUT FRENCH PROPOSED TEXTS OF PARAS 3 AND 5, AS ALSO OUTLINED BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT (US PROPOSED REVISIONS UNDERLINED; DELETIONS IN BRACKETS.TRANSLATION IS UK VERSION CONAINED USNATO 5636.)

3. BEGIN UNDERLINE. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE
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THAT, WHILE THE CONTEXT OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, INCLUDING THE EVOLUTION INTO APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE TERRITORIES AND FORCES OF ALL OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE TO

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ATTACK. IN PARTICULAR, THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR ATTACK TAKES ON AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX

CHARACTER AS AN ASPECT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES. THE NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES, BY FREELY CHOOSING TO ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, AND BY CHOOSING TO STATION ARMED FORCES IN THE TERRITORY OF THEIR ALLIES, SHARE AS PARTNERS IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AREA, AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE DANGERS TO WHICH ANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRY WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED. END UNDERLINE.

4. (THIS NEW SITUATION HAS BASICALLY PRODUCED NO CHANGE.) THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THAT THERE IS (AT PRESENT) NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, WHETHER BASED IN AMERICA OR EUROPE.

5. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALLIANCE MUST NOW PAY MORE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS TO WHICH IT IS EXPOSED IN THE EUROPEAN REGION, AND MUST ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO AVERT THEM. THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE BEGIN UNDERLINE NINETY PERCENT OF THE MEN UNDER ARMS END UNDERLINE IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OF REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE EUROPE TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY

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TO DEPRIVE IT OF ITS FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. (AND THAT THE AIM OF ITS AGREEMENT OF 22ND JUNE, ETC.)

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, SINCE THE GOAL OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY IS TO FRUSTRATE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY WOULD SEEK TO SECURE BY STARTING A WAR, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD IF NECESSARY BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. BEGIN UNDERLINE. NONETHELESS, THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE AIM OF THEIR POLICIES IS TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES AND

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LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD BE WAGED. END UNDERLINE.
END TEXT.

3. IN EXPLAINING CHANGES SET FORTH ABOVE, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

A) PARA 3. OUR PRINCIPAL PURPOSE IN REVISION OF PARA 3 IS TO ELIMINATE DIFFERENTIATION IN THREAT POSED TO US AND TO OTHER ALLIES. MOREOVER, WHILE RETAINING STATEMENT CONCERNING CHANGED STRATEGIC SITUATION, WE BELIEVE IT ALSO IMPORTANT TO REFLECT IN TEXT THE CENTRAL IMPLICATION OF STRATEGIC PARITY, THAT THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR ATTACK, AS AN ASPECT OF OVERALL ALLIANCE DEFENSES, IS INCREASINGLY COMPLEX. THIS REGISTERS IN A LOGICAL PLACE IN THE TEXT THE ESSENTIAL RATIONALE FOR THE ENSUING STATEMENTS IN PARAS 4 AND 5 CONCERNING THE ESSENTIALITY OF US AND EUROPEAN FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS. ADDITIONALLY, WE HAVE USED THE PHRASE, "DEFENSE OF EUROPE," IN PLACE OF PHRASE IN FRENCH TEXT, "EUROPEAN DEFENSE," TO ELIMINATE ANY IMPLICATION THAT NORTH AMERICAN MEMBERS DO NOT HAVE IMPORTANT ROLES TO PLAY. FINALLY, THE LAST SENTENCE (DRAWN FROM PARA 3 OF PROPOSED REVISED TEXT CONTAINED USNATO 5676) RESTATES, ALSO AT WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE PLACE IN TEXT, COMMITMENT EXPRESSED IN ARTICLE 5 OF
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NAT, AND UNDERLINES INDIVISIBILITY OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES. (BEGIN FYI: IN ANY DISCUSSION WITH DE ROSE AND OTHER PERMREPS, YOU SHOULD STATE OUR VIEW THAT LANGUAGE IN PARA 3 SHOULD NOT LEAVE IMPLICATION OF DICHOTOMY IN US AND EUROPEAN ROLES, OR IMPLICATION THAT ALLIES CANNOT RELY ON US. END FYI.)

B) PARA 4. ELIMINATION OF FIRST SENTENCE IS BASED IN PART UPON EDITORIAL CONSIDERATIONS. HOWEVER, IT ALSO DERIVES FROM OUR VIEW THAT THE STATEMENT IT CONTAINS OF NO BASIC CHANGE RESULTINGFROM NEW SITUATION WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR REVISION OF PARA 3, ESPECIALLY ASSERTION THEREIN OF INCREASING COMPLEXITY OF THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR ATTACK, AND ENSUING STATEMENTS REGARDING THE NEED TO MAINTAIN EFFECTIVE SECURITY.

C) PARA 5. WE HAVE CHANGED THE PHRASE, "THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE THREE QUARTERS OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE FORCES IN EUROPE,"

TO READ, "WHO PROVIDE OVER NINETY PERCENT OF THE MEN

UNDER ARMS IN EUROPE." THIS MORE ACCURATELY PRESENTS

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THE US-ALLIED RATIO, AND CORRESPONDS TO STATEMENTS WE HAVE USED PUBLICLY IN THE US IN DEFENDING RETENTION OF THE PRESENT LEVEL OF US FORCES IN EUROPE.

D) PARA 6. NEW FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 6 CORRESPONDS TO OUR DESIRE TO BALANCE STATEMENT IN PARA 6 CONCERNING READINESS OF ALLIES TO EMPLOY FORCES, IF NECESSARY, WITH STATEMENT OF AIM OF PREVENTING WAR. IT IS ALSO INCIDENT TO ELIMINATION OF REFERENCE TO US-USSR AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR IN PARA 5 OF FRENCH TEXT, BASED ON OUR VIEW THAT IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE A GENERALIZED STATEMENT OF THE ALLIED AIM OF PREVENTING WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD BE WAGED. (BEGIN FYI: IN LIGHT OF CRITICAL COMMENTS IN JOBERT'S RECENT SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, WE CANNOT RPT NOT ACCEPT A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO US-USSR AGREEMENT. END FYI.)

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4. TACTICS. IN CONNECTION WITH FOREGOING REVISIONS, YOU SHOULD PROCEED ON BASIS OF FOLLOWING SCENARIO:

A. YOU SHOULD INFORM FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE PRIVATELY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF PROPOSED REVISIONS, ABOVE, TO FRENCH TEXT, INDICATING THAT YOU HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CIRCULATE THEM SHORTLY TO THE COUNCIL.

B. ON DECEMBER 5, YOU SHOULD PROVIDE REVISION TO PREMREPS AND LUNS, TOGETHER WITH ACCOMPANYING RATIONALE, EITHER IN NAC OR BY LETTER, AS APPROPRIATE, INDICATING THAT YOU WOULD WELCOME AN EARLY DISCUSSION IN NAC OF US PROPOSALS.

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